

## Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 305665

USEC

FOL GENEVA 12472 SENT ACTION SECSTATE DEC 20, 1977 REPEATED  
TO YOU QUOTE

S E C R E T GENEVA 12472

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ILO

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH BELGIAN AMB PAUL NOTERDAEME  
DECEMBER 18

FROM AMBASSADOR VANDEN HEUVEL

STATE FOR MAYNES, DALLEY, JOHN MILLS IN IO;  
S/IL DALE GOOD

DEPT PASS LABOR FOR SECY MARSHALL, HOWARD SAMUEL  
AND JAMES QUACKENBUSH: COMMERCE FOR SECY KREPS

1. I MET FOR SEVERAL HOURS SUNDAY MORNING DEC 18 WITH  
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THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR, PAUL NOTERDAEME, WHO IS THE  
CHAIRMAN OF THE EC-9 UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR. HE  
PRESIDED OVER A THREE DAY MEETING, DECEMBER 14-16, WITH  
ALL OF THE EC-9 REPRESENTATIVES TO DISCUSS A PROPOSAL  
FOR SUBMISSION TO THE ILO WORKING GROUP ON STRUCTURE  
WHICH CONVENES IN FEBRUARY. HE SAID THAT THE NINE ARE  
READY TO CONSULT REGULARLY WITH THE US ON STRUCTURE  
QUESTIONS AND THEY ARE PREPARED "TO TELL THE US WHAT  
WE (THE NINE) INTEND TO DO" INCLUDING A DEFINITION OF  
OBJECTIVES AND FULL DETAILS OF THE PROPOSAL. NOTERDAEME  
WILL ALSO SUGGEST THAT IMEC INVITE THE US TO ITS MEETING

WHERE THE NINE'S PROPOSAL WILL BE DISCUSSED. THEY EXPECT THE US TO MAKE CLEAR ITS CONCERNS AND PREOCCUPATIONS BUT HE URGED THAT THE US WITHHOLD ANY COMMENT OR REACTION UNTIL VERY CONFIDENTIAL CONSULTATIONS ARE COMPLETED BETWEEN THE NINE AND CANADA, JAPAN, NORWAY, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. NOTERDAEME WILL REPORT THE RESULTS OF THESE INDIVIDUAL CONSULTATIONS TO ME. HE EXPECTS THEM TO TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR AND THE FULLSCALE IMEC DISCUSSIONS TO TAKE PLACE IN JANUARY. THE CLEAR IMPLICATION OF HIS COMMENT, AND HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WAS SPEAKING FOR THE NINE, WAS THAT THE NINE DID NOT WANT TO BE OVERPOWERED BY US REACTIONS, CRITICISMS, THREATS OR ULTIMATUMS. THEY UNDERSTAND THAT STRUCTURE IS A DIFFICULT PROBLEM FOR THE US, AND IT IS ALSO A DIFFICULT PROBLEM FOR THEM. THEY BELIEVE OUR INTERESTS IN THE QUESTION ARE THE SAME, AND THEY WANT TO ACT IN A WAY SO THAT A CONCLUSION IS REACHED THAT WILL ENCOURAGE THE US RETURN TO MEMBERSHIP. BUT THE WELTS ARE STILL RAW FROM THE PRESSURES OF THE PAST YEAR. THE LAST CLC MEETING AND SECRETARY MARSHALL'S MEETING WITH DG BLANCHARD HAVE SET A NEW TONE WHICH THE NINE WELCOME AND WHICH THEY BELIEVE AUGURS WELL FOR THE DIFFICULT SECRET

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MONTHS AHEAD.

2. THE MEETING OF THE NINE CONCENTRATED ON ARTICLE 7, PARTICULARLY THE GOVERNMENTAL COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNING BODY (GB). IT ALSO GAVE SOME ATTENTION TO ARTICLE 36, AND APPOINTED ITS OWN WORKING GROUP ON ARTICLE 17. NOTERDAEME SAID THAT AT THE END OF "THIS EXERCISE" WE MUST HAVE "A RESPONSIBLE GB". THE NINE ARE NOT GOING TO TOLERATE ANY CHANGE IN THE TRIPARTITE CHARACTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OR, FOR THAT MATTER, ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE ACTUAL POWERS OF THE GB. "WE ARE NOT GOING TO REWRITE THE CONSTITUTION -- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GB AND THE CONFERENCE MUST REMAIN AS IT IS." THE GB MUST BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ILO MEMBERSHIP BUT IT MUST ALSO BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS, POWER AND INFLUENCE OF THE MEMBER STATES. HE DESCRIBED THIS PROTECTION OF THE GB AS THE FIRST OBJECTIVE OF THE NINE; THE SECOND OBJECTIVE MUST BE TO SAFEGUARD OR IMPROVE THE POSITION OF THE IMEC COUNTRIES IN THE GB; THE THIRD OBJECTIVE IS TO BE SENSITIVE AND RESPONSIVE TO THE DEMANDS OF THE G-77. IN FURTHERANCE OF THIS THIRD OBJECTIVE, IT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO USE THE PROPOSAL FOR STRUCTURAL CHANGE MADE BY THE ASIAN COUNTRIES AS A STARTING POINT. THE ADVANTAGES OF THIS STRATEGY ARE THAT THE NINE WILL BE DEALING WITH A PROPOSAL THAT IS ALREADY BEFORE THE MEMBER STATES, A PROPOSAL MADE BY IMPORTANT ASIAN COUNTRIES, AND A PROPOSAL THAT CONTAINS THE CONCEPT OF

"OBJECTIVE CRITERIA" WHICH WOULD BE USED IN DEFINING GB MEMBERSHIP. THE NINE WOULD ADVOCATE ENLARGING THE GOVERNMENTAL MEMBERSHIP OF THE GB TO 50 BY ABOLISHING THE PRESENT DISTINCTION BETWEEN "TITULAR" AND "DEPUTY" MEMBERS (THERE ARE PRESENTLY 28 GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATIVES WHO ARE TITULAR, AND 18 WHO ARE DEPUTY.) THEY ARE TENTATIVELY CONSIDERING FOUR "ELECTORAL COLLEGES" WHICH WOULD BE CREATED ON A GEOGRAPHICAL NOT AN SECRET

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IDEOLOGICAL BASIS. THE REGIONS WOULD BE THE AMERICANS, EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA. THIS IS A STARTING POSITION. THE NINE REALIZE THAT CERTAIN COUNTRIES MAY WANT ADDITIONAL ELECTORAL COLLEGES, I.E., THE MIDDLE EAST; THEY MAY ALSO KNOW THAT THERE ARE TWO EUROPE AND THAT ISRAEL MAY WISH TO BE IDENTIFIED WITH EUROPE RATHER THAN AN ELECTORAL GROUP DOMINATED BY THE ARAB COUNTRIES. THEY KNOW THAT YUGOSLAVIA CONSIDERS ITSELF AS EASTERN EUROPEAN FOR ILO PURPOSES, AND AS WESTERN EUROPEAN FOR WHO PURPOSES. THE NINE EXPECT THE CONCEPT OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGES AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE COUNTRIES IN THE MEMBER GROUPS MAY BE LEFT TO A PROTOCOL OF UNDERSTANDING.

3. IN ANY DISCUSSION OF FORMULAE FOR DETERMINING GB MEMBERSHIP, THE NINE WILL INSIST THAT THE US AND CHINA BE TREATED AS THOUGH THEY WERE FULL AND ACTIVE MEMBERS. THE NUMBER OF GB SEATS ASSIGNED TO EACH ELECTORAL COLLEGE WOULD DEPEND ON THREE CRITERIA OF EQUAL WEIGHT: (1) NUMBER OF STATES IN THE ELECTORAL GROUP (2) THE TOTAL POPULATION OF THE GROUP, AND (3) THE FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE GROUP TO THE ILO (FOR WESTERN EUROPE, THE CONCEPT OF "TOTAL POPULATION" IS BETTER THAN "WORKING POPULATION" BECAUSE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES PLAY TRICKS WITH THEIR STATISTICS AND THEY ALSO HAVE MORE WOMEN WORKING). THIS TENTATIVE FORMULATION WOULD GIVE ASIA A LARGER PERCENTAGE OF SEATS THAN IT NOW HAS, AND AFRICA LESS. THE NINE BELIEVE THAT ASIA SHOULD BE GIVEN THIS CONSIDERATION BECAUSE OF ITS HUGE POPULATION (BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT WILL BE EASIER FOR AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND TO BE ELECTED AS GB MEMBERS).

4. THE NINE RECOGNIZE THAT THEY FACE A VERY DIFFICULT PROBLEM IN ASSURING THE ELECTORAL GROUPS OF AUTONOMY SECRET

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WHILE AT THE SAME TIME INSISTING THAT THE MORE IMPORTANT COUNTRIES OF EACH GROUP BE CHOSEN ON A CONTINUING BASIS. THEY BELIEVE THERE MUST BE RULES WHICH ASSURE THE SUSTAINED PRESENCE OF THE IMPORTANT COUNTRIES, REFLECTING THEIR POPULATION AND THEIR FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS. THE

NINE HAVE TRIED SEVERAL FORMULATIONS FOR SUCH A RULE BUT THEY HAVE NOT YET SUCCEEDED IN FINDING A SATISFACTORY ONE. THEY DO NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF LETTING EACH REGION WORK IT OUT FOR THEMSELVES BECAUSE OF THE DIFFICULTY IN FINDING AN EQUITABLE, BROADLY SUPPORTED FORMULA BUT NOTERDAEME HOPES THAT HIS CONFIDENTIAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE FIVE IMEC COUNTRIES WILL HELP REACH SOME CONCLUSIONS. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT "DOGFIGHTING" ON THIS QUESTION WAS STILL GOING ON WITHIN THE NINE. BELGIUM, FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD AGREE THAT THE BIG FOUR OF WESTERN EUROPE (FRG, FRANCE, UNITED KINGDOM AND ITALY) BE GIVEN CONTINUING MEMBERSHIP. HOLLAND AND DENMARK DO NOT AGREE ALTHOUGH THEIR POSITION IS NOT INTRANSIGENT. IF WESTERN EUROPE GETS NINE GB SEATS (A NUMBER IT APPARENTLY HOPES FOR), THERE WILL BE NO PROBLEM. IF IT IS LESS THAN NINE, THERE IS SOME DISCUSSION OF AN IDEA THAT ONLY THREE OF THE BIG FOUR BE ON THE GB ON A CONTINUING ROTATING BASIS AS AGREED TO AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE NINE.

5. THE NINE HAVE NOT YET DECIDED WHETHER TO HAVE DISCUSSIONS OF THEIR PROPOSAL WITH THE G-77 BEFORE THE ILO WORKING GROUP CONVENES IN FEBRUARY. IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT THERE WILL BE AT LEAST INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE KEY G-77 COUNTRIES.

6. THEIR TENTATIVE TIMETABLE IS TO HAVE GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG THEMSELVES AND CONSULTATION WITH IMEC AROUND JANUARY 20TH. I ASKED IF THE NINE WERE IN CLOSE CONSULTATION DURING THEIR MEETING WITH THEIR LABOR/EMPLOYER GROUPS. NOTERDAEME SAID THAT THESE GROUPS ARE GENERALLY AWARE OF THE DIRECTIONS OF THE PROPOSAL BUT  
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THERE IS NO CLOSE CONSULTATION AT THIS TIME. THE NINE ARE COMMITTED TO EQUALITY OF REPRESENTATION SO THAT THE GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATIVES CONTINUE TO EQUAL THE COMBINED VOTE OF THE LABOR/EMPLOYER GROUPS BUT IT WOULD BE LEFT UP TO THOSE GROUPS THEMSELVES TO DECIDE WHETHER THAT EQUALITY SHOULD COME THROUGH WEIGHTED VOTING OR AN INCREASED NUMBER OF MEMBERS.

7. REGARDING ARTICLE 36 AND FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE, THE NINE ARE TENTATIVELY PUTTING FORWARD A SUGGESTION THAT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS REQUIRE A TOTAL 2/3 VOTE, INCLUDING A MAJORITY OF EACH OF THE TRIPARTITE GROUPS. THEY WILL NOT MAKE ANY SPECIFIC PROPOSAL UNTIL ARTICLE 7 ITSELF IS SETTLED AND THE POWERS OF THE GB ARE REASSURED. THEY ARE FULLY AWARE OF THEIR PRESENT VETO RIGHTS AND HAVE NO INTENTION OF SURRENDERING THAT POWER UNTIL THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF TRIPARTITE PARTICIPATION AND THE GB POWERS ARE CONSTITUTIONALLY GUARANTEED.

8. THE NINE STUDIED THE THREE PROPOSALS REGARDING ARTICLE 17 THAT HAVE BEEN PUT FORWARD BY THE GB, CANADA AND THE EMPLOYERS. THE FRENCH ARE MAKING SOME SUGGESTIONS BUT THE NINE ARE DETERMINED TO SETTLE THE QUESTIONS OF ARTICLES 7 AND 36 ON THEIR OWN MERIT WITHOUT BRINGING ARTICLE 17 INTO THE NEGOTIATING SO AS NOT TO BE REQUIRED "TO PAY A HEAVY PRICE". THEY BELIEVE THE DG NEEDS HELP THROUGH A CHARTER DIRECTIVE TO SUPPORT HIS DETERMINATION AS EXPRESSED IN HIS LETTER OF OCTOBER 10 TO SCREEN OUT BNON-GERMANE RESOLUTIONS AND THEY WILL MOVE STRONGLY TO FIND A SOLUTION FOR THIS PROBLEM AS SOON AS THE GB QUESTIONS ARE SETTLED.

9. THE ABOVE IS THE ESSENCE OF THE NINE'S DELIBERATIONS  
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AS REPORTED BY AMBASSADOR NOTERDAEME. MORE INFORMATION AND DETAILS WILL BE FORTHCOMING. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE CLC WORKING GROUP HAS A SUBCOMMITTEE ON STRUCTURE. A CONTACT PERSON FOR THAT SUBCOMMITTEE SHOULD BE IDENTIFIED SO THAT WE CAN BE IN TELEPHONIC CONTACT AS NEED BE.

10. DENMARK BECOMES CHAIRMAN OF THE NINE ON JANUARY 1. NOTERDAEME ASSURED ME THAT THE DANISH AMBASSADOR IN GENEVA, HANS ERIK KASTOFT, WILL BE A CAREFUL SPOKESMAN FOR THE NINE'S POSITION AND WILL WORK CLOSELY WITH US TO HELP FIND A COMMON POSITION. THERE IS NO PLAN TO BE IN TOUCH WITH THE USSR AT THIS TIME. VANDEN HEUVEL  
UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

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